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(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

CHILDHOOD

BEGINNINGS

AT THE first signs of pregnancy a woman takes immediate steps to insure the safe delivery and good health of the developing child. To prevent injury to the fetus, she refrains from sexual intercourse as soon as the menses stop. 843

The food restrictions she observes are not onerous. She eats sparingly of fat meat lest the child become too large and delivery be difficult. She avoids eating animal intestines, a food associated with stillbirths in which the child is strangled by the umbilical cord. Piñon nuts are shunned also, for they cause the child to "have fat all over," thus prolonging delivery. [845]

An important restriction is the injunction against riding a horse; "the shaking is not good for a pregnant woman." This rule became extended in later days to include riding in wagons. [492]

The woman also avoids ceremonies where masked dancers appear, for the sight of the hooded figures "hurts both mother and child. The child might not come out and might kill the woman." Some prospective fathers are just as careful about this, because the impersonator has "a hood over his head and the child may be born with a caul over its face." Others hold that the rule concerns the mother only and that the father can look at the masked dancers and can even act as a masked dancer, providing all signs of this role are entirely erased before he returns home. 843 845 535

The pregnant woman refrains from excessive walking, from lifting heavy burdens, and from sitting up for long periods. She is urged to take sufficient rest. The consideration with which she is treated reflects the great love of children that characterizes the society. "A woman about to become a mother is treated extra nice, just like a child." Yet the performance of ordinary household tasks is considered beneficial to her throughout this period, and laziness and self-pity are ridiculed. "They say that when you sit on the child after the fifth month it will be harder 843 [855]

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this later on. Later the child will be named according to circumstances; something about the child will suggest a name. Once in a while the first name is kept because it fits so well that the person "wears" it all the time. 551 553

Since the name relates to personality traits or to events, it is not necessarily a clue to the sex of its bearer.

When labor is excessively difficult or long delayed, and especially when sorcery is suspected, appeal is made to men or women who carry on still other ceremonies. One elder described such a rite which he had performed over a young woman. She had been in labor for about eighteen hours, and it was feared that "the baby would have to be killed and taken out in pieces to save her." In response to an urgent request from her relatives, the old man hurried to the camp with a helper. He prayed and drew a cross of black mineral substance on his helper's hand. He then directed his assistant to put his arm around the woman's body at various places and to press her gently while he began a ceremonial song of four verses. At the end of the second verse a boy was born—"born before I got through with one song." Great claims are made for these childbirth ceremonies and for these practitioners. "As soon as they touch the woman who is having a hard time, everything is made easy for her." 845 755 759

Nursing begins "as soon as the mother has milk." The colostrum is not differentiated from the milk secreted later. Concerning frequency of feedings, it was said, "I have seen that, when women have babies, as soon as they cry the mothers give them the breast." "The women boil up lots of bones and make a soup right away. They say that makes lots of milk and pure milk." If the mother's milk does not flow at once, the child is not fed the first day. If she is unable to nurse the child on the second day, it is given a little water. Should she still lack milk on the third day, the child is nursed by a mother's sister or other close relative. 853 [602]

From the mother a Spartan attitude is expected. "Women didn't lie around as they do now; they got up soon afterward." "I saw T.'s wife. She has had many children. Today she has a baby; tomorrow she is around doing something. Some lie down for an hour maybe. The next day they are up." But most con- 846 147 846

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846 finements last from a few days to a week. Moreover, the cere-
[845] monies for difficult childbirth and the many medicines in use for
[757] ailments resulting from childbearing suggest that the woman does not always have an easy time.

[844] After the birth of her child, the woman ties a rope or a strap
[826] around her waist "so that her stomach will not sag." She wears this until she feels strong once more.

844 Despite the roving life, there is an attachment to the place of
823 birth. A child is told where he was born; and, when he is again
788 brought to the vicinity, "they roll him on the ground to the four directions. They don't make a special trip for this, but they do it if they happen to be there. This is done even if the child is getting big." Adults as well as children have been known to roll in this manner upon returning to the birthplace.

CRADLE DAYS

852 Normally, the fourth day after birth is the occasion for a cra-
756 dle ceremony, although sometimes the rite is delayed for a few
[759] days more. The immediate family may include an old man or woman prepared to perform it, or the midwife may know the rite and accept the task. Depending on the "way" of the shaman who officiates, the ceremony will be elaborate or modest. A poor
[556] family is satisfied to obtain a shaman whose ceremony is pruned to essentials, while a wealthy family may make more of a display of the event. Not infrequently the selection of the practitioner is related to the web of human relations—to friendships, to bonds of blood, to desire for gain.

[556] There's a shaman, my relative. And there are some people who have a new baby. They are well-off people; they have much property; they have horses and buckskins and bring in lots of deer. My relative has nothing like this, though he is a shaman. He is poor. I notice that this wealthy family with the new baby has lost several babies before this.

I go to them. I say, "You people have a new baby. I notice that you have lost several children. My relative is a good shaman. He knows something to keep the child well. You go to him and ask him and he will put up a ceremony for you. But don't tell him who told you about his ceremony."

Those relatives of the little child talk it over. One says, "I'll give a gun for that ceremony." Another says, "I'll give two blankets." Another offers a horse or a buckskin.

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854 Once the child is old enough for the cradleboard, it becomes
his almost permanent home for a number of months. This con-
[142] tinuous stay in the cradle causes a slight occipital flattening of
the head. The baby is laced in tightly and is removed only occa-
[853] sionally. He may even be left in the cradle while he is nursed.
He does have to be taken out when the soft grass, moss, or pul-
854 verized wild rose bark, used as padding and as absorbent mate-
824 rial for the discharges, needs renewing. To prevent chafing, the
[278] child is dusted with powder scraped from the bark of the heart-
[856] leafed willow. A very young child is bathed in a decoction ob-
tained by boiling the plant *Drymaria fendleri* "to make the skin
strong."

854 As the child becomes more active and restless, beads and
jingles of various kinds are strung from the canopy to engage his
attention. After he is six or seven months old he is allowed more
time outside the cradle and crawls vigorously around the camp.

854 During this crawling stage the child must be carefully
753 watched, lest he come in contact with baneful substances which
825 can cause sickness—worms, certain insects, and feathers from
evil birds such as the owl or the crow. Dogs are considered par-
ticularly inappropriate in a camp where there is a small child.

> If you have a little child crawling around and suddenly a dog barks at it and scares it, they say that the fright will go inside that child and make its heart sick. So they don't like dogs around much. If you have one, some man might come along and say, "Why do you have that dog around? Don't you know it is no good? It might scare your children and make them sick."

766 When a child is stillborn or dies while it is being carried in the
[845] cradle its body is hastily buried in a talus slope and is covered by
[768] rocks, branches, and earth. The cradle, if it has already been
[352] made, has a different destination:

> They take the cradle and cut it so it will be recognized; cut slits in the buckskin, for instance. They hang it up in a tree which stands to the east of the encampment where the death took place. No one will dare to touch it. It is forbidden to touch it. If the cradle is still around the camp, it is hung out at the child's death even though the child is already walking when he dies. Sometimes the cradle is put in a place in a bluff.

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754 "These people hate their own children; they hate their close relatives."

[578] But in most instances of alleged sorcery, the motive of the witch is narrowed down to some quarrel or thwarted design:

One man suspects M. of being a witch. His wife used to be good friends with her. She used to be over at M.'s all the time. Then she died, just after those two women had a falling out of some sort. That's the way they work. You have hot words with a person. Then you die from some little accident. The person is under suspicion after that.

The greed of the sorcerer and the danger of denying him his desires is a recurring theme:

If you suspect you are witched, you must think over everybody that you have refused anything to or to whom you have not freely given something he admired. Perhaps someone said to you, "What a nice Navaho rug!" But you didn't give it to him. He witched you. That's why Indians don't plan to live nicely and have [511] good things around. They'd only be running into danger from witches.

[584] Rejected marriage suits may stir the malice of witches. "A young woman might die. They would say that a man who had been refused by her before her marriage had done this to her because he couldn't have her himself."

There is no personal misfortune, no public disaster, that may [833] not ultimately be construed as the work of a witch. Impotence is sometimes attributed to sorcery, and witches are accused of interfering with domestic tranquillity:

When I married, I lived near my wife's parents. A year later my wife had a baby and it died. About two months later she began to act as if she wasn't the same person at all. She was mean, and there was trouble all the time. I came away and lived down here, but my mother-in-law liked me and knew that I was trying to do the right thing. My wife had been witched. They took her to a [755] shaman, and he saw what the matter was and cured her. About a month after she was cured I went back to her. She was just like her old self again.

[845] Of difficult childbirth, it was said: "When a woman is having a hard time in labor, if her husband finds out for sure that a witch is responsible, he will go out and kill him."

75 535 At the other end of the scale is widespread sickness:

There has been much sickness around here, a lot of pneumonia. So last week my father painted masked dancers to find out what it was from and how it was

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The birth of twins is considered evidence of unfaithfulness: 845 837

If any woman has twins, she is looked upon as having run with other men besides her husband. My sister is one of a pair of twins.[4] The other died a few days after birth. I think they were both girls. The older one died. I never heard my father say anything about it. One twin would not be kept. We believe that both could not grow up; one would die. They keep the boy if the twins are a boy and a girl.

Sometimes twins are born. Twins are considered unlucky. Twins cannot grow up; they always die. Unfaithfulness on the part of the woman causes twins. Sometimes one of the twins is stillborn.

If it is the husband who is philandering, his wife scolds him and complains to her close relatives. But the man is in no danger of a beating or of mutilation. Few wives take desperate action of any kind: 837

If the husband is unfaithful and is discovered by his wife, his wife may say to him, "Well, you love the other woman better than me; go and marry her." Or she might let it go and forget and forgive entirely. The women don't have power [562] to do much to the men. A very mean woman might stab her husband at night or [684] something like that. The people wouldn't blame her much, because it is the husband's fault. But only a very hard-up man would marry the woman after [626] this; so that keeps women from killing their husbands.

However, a woman who is very much angered by her husband's conduct can send him away: 837 586

I heard the quarrel at the time. She told him, "You think you're going to have this woman and myself for your wives, and you think you're going to stay with this woman one time and with me another time. You think you're going to go back and forth between us two wives. You are mistaken! You might pull that on somebody else, but not on me. So you'll marry that woman. Go right ahead and marry her. Our married life is over; we'll quit here. You'll leave this house without anything and go and live with that woman." She sent him away.

It is apparent that both husband and wife are in a position to demand fair play and to take appropriate action. Enough feeling of self-importance and competence has been communicated to individuals of both sexes during the training period, so that no one is willing to accept humiliation as a matter of course.

The permanent disruption of a household involves the entire 000

[4] The informant is not here impugning the virtue of his own mother, since this is a half-sister, the offspring of his father's second wife.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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(a Chiricahua band) at present prepare the meats by boiling in water. 252, 262

The seeds of the piñon pine *(Pinus edulis)*, which ripened in October, were very extensively gathered for food before they fell from the tree. The "nuts" were either eaten raw or roasted for a few minutes in a pan so they would keep, then shelled. Often they were mixed with pulp from the fruits of yucca to make a pudding. When used raw they were ground, rolled into balls, and eaten as a sort of delicacy. 137 These Apache did not permit their pregnant women to eat piñons, lest the child would be born with fat all over the body and make delivery difficult. [843] [845]

In times of food scarcity the seeds of the western yellow pine *(Pinus scopulorum)* were utilized but they never constituted an important article of diet on account of their small size. They were ground, the edible portion rolled into balls and eaten raw. Those of the limber or western white pine *(Pinus flexilis)* were larger and might be utilized but were likewise of little importance since the species was not abundant. Formerly the seeds were gathered before they began to fall, by shaking from the cones, but never before fully ripened. They were then roasted and hulled, or sometimes the seeds ground, shell and all, and eaten.

It might be well in this connection to mention the use of pine bark as a source of food by the Apache. The inner bark of *Pinus scopulorum* is quite sweet and palatable and has often been utilized as food, especially when other foods were not abundant. Portions of bark were stripped from the tree and the inner bark scraped off. Hrdlička *(12:22)* referred to it as being baked in the form of cakes. Formerly these Indians cut out large squares of bark with a long pointed stick and scraped off the inner bark with a smaller, sharpened piece of wood. It was usually boiled, or it might be chewed and eaten raw, but in this state it was rather difficult to digest. If boiled for a considerable period of time the sugar would crystallize out. The bark of large aspen trees *(Populus tremuloides)* was also utilized in the same [413]